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577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
[1]1 was deceiving them. Only sexual preparations convinced them. In fact, Fantan the interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way; we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *fui hatol*,
[1]2 to persuade with false promises; *-bui*, to prevaricate; *-bura*, to deceive with threats or intent to frighten; *likda*, to shut (distort) meaning, to speak crookedly; *rimu*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tafaiabdia*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tanai tanga*, to talk at random without regard for truth; *-wara*, to deny falsely. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pat-
[1]67 tern of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of finance.

§43 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disci-
●567 plinary techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
§55 Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however, bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
[1]46 slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being bought and sold by people from Atimelang, so that the practice must have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members
567 of the family, but a special term (*maiya*) was applied to them.
§55 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

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of its adopted parents and might live down the stigma of its origin if it 567
proved itself adaptable and able. Once such a person had established 355
himself as a competent adult in the community, it was considered offensive to refer to his origin. It is quite obvious that the lot of a person who has been a slave is not a particularly hard one; but that it is a source of fear to children may well be imagined. Fear of being sold into [64]
slavery may be intensified by early childhood experiences of parental desertion. The social attitude toward slavery is undoubtedly colored by experiences in early life.

A similar type of kidnapping may be a form of vengeance directed 547
toward parents delinquent in debt payments, so that the child becomes 672
the victim not of his own misdemeanors but of those of his parents. It 485
is a hard lesson in group responsibility for a guiltless child. Such oc- 358
currences, however, are undoubtedly rare. My notes contain only one anecdote of this sort, but it is worth repeating for the light it casts on oblique vengeances, the persistence of hostilities, and the value of a child to parents and to strangers. The event must have occurred some twenty years ago.

Lakaseni of Dikimpe, acting for Semmani of Karieta, got a moko 547
from some Fungwati people. It was worth only a dollar and a half, but 485
despite persistent dunning by Lakaseni, Semmani refused to pay for it. 477
The Fungwati people, to place pressure on Lakaseni, kidnapped his child. In retaliation Lakaseni tried to steal Semmani's eight-year-old daughter but was stopped by one of Semmani's sons-in-law. Despite the beating he received, Lakaseni returned the same day to Karieta and managed to steal another of Semmani's daughters, a child of three or four years. He took her to Fungwati and so bought his child's release.

The mother of the stolen child heard what had happened and that night tried to break into the house in Fungwati where the girl was being held. The door was securely barred but she managed to break through the house flooring. Once she was in the house, however, a group of men fought her off. Semmani himself went to Fungwati the next day and pled with his creditors, but they were adamant, saying they would release the child only when he repaid his debt with exactly the same kind of moko he had secured from them. This particular type was rare; Semmani could not find one immediately and the Fungwati people refused to give him extra time to search for it. The next day they sold the child to a distant village for a three-dollar moko. As the narrator put it, "Fungwati and Karieta had been at war and they still remembered it. Even though Semmani cried and cried, they sold his child anyhow."

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●547 When Semmuni heard that his child had actually been sold, he gave
627 her up, saying, "Now we won't get the child back. So we shall consider
685 her a person dead from violence and provide her with a human head
764 as her spouse." He then sent a friend to get a head from Fungweni, and the friend returned with the head of an adult man.

583 This story has some interesting facets. It cannot be said that the par-
647 ents did not care for their child, but it is significant that they were so ready to abandon her. They might have followed her to the village into which she was sold and bought her back for about four dollars. That would be the standard price increase for a second transaction on the progressive sale of a stolen child. Instead, however, they gave up the child and bought a head that must have cost them about sixty dollars, indicating that vengeance and prestige were more important to them than the child itself.

§68 The opportunities for children to acquire attitudes of fear are not always so direct and drastic. Many sources of fright are more subtle and covert. For instance, if a child in racing about the uneven and stony paths of the valley stumbles and falls, the adults will shout at him in harsh and frightened fashion for his awkwardness. There is in the community a very marked fear of even this form of accidental violence or injury. Its origin is not accounted for by the natives, and the only explanation that occurs to me is a very legitimate fear of the infection that so often sets in where there are open wounds.

§69 Late childhood is undoubtedly the period when individuals acquire
§85 their fear of supernatural beings. Children are in full possession of the
715 speculation and gossip concerning supernatural malignancy or poisoning that surrounds many deaths. These supernatural spirits are everywhere, living near springs, trees, ravines, and rocks. It is practically impossible to avoid their habitations; all one may hope is not to offend them. Children who are their victims can be saved only by having their adult kin perform the proper sacrifices, and such sacrifices are never
[753] begrudged by adults. Long-delayed death feasts are sometimes given by men whose children's illnesses have been diagnosed as the work of angered ghosts. There is ample evidence to indicate that parents are thoroughly solicitous for the health of their children, at least within their own cultural patterns. They are less convinced and therefore willing to make an effort where European medication is concerned.

§69 Similarly, during this period children must absorb fear of the spirits
715 of the violently dead, a category which includes those who have died from accidents, warfare, dysentery, smallpox, and leprosy. The child has every opportunity to observe the elaborate ceremonial and financial de-

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juncture in certain aspects of his life. He comes fairly close to the characteristics of certain neuroses in Western society.

He is about thirty-six, the middle of five siblings, and is married to a woman ten years older, who has two daughters by a previous marriage. He has no children. He is a seer, and has some standing but little wealth. Physically he is blind in one eye, is crippled and emaciated, and has an irritating skin disease. He is a dreamer and an interpreter of dreams.

His father, now dead, was a prominent seer who had risen from the position of a slave child by dint of persistence and enterprise. His father is the dominant influence in Rilpada's life. The son not only follows his father's vocation of seer, but he is constantly occupied with the latter's finances rather than his own. He takes pride in his father's sexual prowess in having had nine wives. Rilpada is the offspring of his father's second marriage. His mother is still living.

The case of Rilpada's autobiography differs notably from that of the others. We are dealing here with a contemporary picture that differs strikingly from the childhood picture. Also, Rilpada's story differs from the others in emphasis. Wherein the general cultural picture is the same in his case as in the others, he insists upon giving a picture of good care in childhood. He felt the influence of both maternal care and paternal guidance, and both seem to have been intelligent and directed. The evidence for this is that he is actively partisan, now toward his mother, now toward his father. He recounts plenty of quarrels with both, but always adds a forgiving note, indicating that both his parents made persistent efforts to placate him and understand his feelings. He is always reconciled to them, and his story abounds in episodes of gratitude to them and solicitude for them. His earliest recollection, one of gribbing and spoiling a rice cake that his mother had prepared, is followed by the comment, "She told me not to do that, and gave me a coconut dish with rice that was left in the pot." It is natural, therefore, to find that he behaves the same way toward his friends, with whom there are plenty of fights but always rapid reconciliations.

Only in the case of women are Rilpada's reactions true to the cultural type — and even worse, for he has a decided neurosis on this score. There is some likelihood of his being impotent, though his childlessness cannot be taken as evidence to support this, since he is married to a woman now forty-five. There are indications of shyness toward women; he runs away from them and finally marries one whose chief virtue is that she can work well and be a good caretaker — a replica of the desired mother figure.